

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7892

INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 5700

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR YO US UR

SUBJ: TITO'S COLOMBO SPEECH IN PERSPECTIVE

REF: (A) COLOMBO 3053 (NOTAL), (B) COLOMBO 3056 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: COMPARED WITH HIS ADDRESS TO '73 ALGIERS NAC, TITO'S COLOMBO SPEECH EVIDENCED SUBSTANTIALLY HEIGHTENED CONCERN WITH U.S. AND SOVIET INTEREST IN AND POLICY TOWARD NONALIGNED. WE NOTE ALSO AN INCREASE IN BOTH AMOUNT AND STRIDENCY OF ANTI-WESTERN RHETORIC OVER THAT WHICH HE EMPLOYED AT ALGIERS SUMMIT WHICH WAS TO SOME EXTENT COUNTERBALANCED BY VEILED CRITICISM OF ONGOING SOVIET EFFORTS TO COOPT THE MOVEMENT. TITO'S REMARKS AT COLOMBO ON CERTAIN POLITICAL ISSUES OF SPECIAL CONCERN TO U.S., PARTICULARLY KOREA AND LATIN AMERICA, WERE MORE IMMODERATE THAN WERE HIS STATED POSITIONS ON SAME ISSUES AT ALGIERS. END SUMMARY.

2. REF A INCLUDED MAJOR HIGHLIGHTS OF TITO'S SPEECH AT COLOMBO. TO BETTER ASCERTAIN THEIR SIGNIFICANCE
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EMBASSY COMPARED IN SOME DETAIL PUBLISHED TEXT OF HIS

SPEECH WITH THAT WHICH HE DELIVERED THREE YEARS AGO AT ALGIERS NAC. EMPHASIS WAS ON IDENTIFYING SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN TREATMENT OF U.S. INTEREST ISSUES OR IN "BALANCE" OF HIS CRITICISM OF WESTERN VS. SOVIET BLOC COUNTRIES, THEIR RESPECTIVE IDEOLOGIES OR POL/MIL POSITIONS. OF PRIMARY CONCERN WAS WHETHER SPEECHES DIFFERED SUFFICIENTLY TO INDICATE A SHIFT IN YUGOSLAVIA'S PERCEPTION OF NONALIGNED MOVEMENT'S ORIENTATION OR DESIRED ORIENTATION VIS-A-VIS U.S. OR THE SOVIETS.

3. ANTI-U.S./WESTERN POLEMICS. EVEN MORE SO THAN IN ALGIERS SPEECH, TITO AT COLOMBO AIMED VASTLY DISPROPORTIONATE SHARE OF ANTI-MAJOR POWER, ANTI-BLOC RHETORIC AT U.S. AND THE WEST. HOWEVER, ANTI-WESTERN BROADSIDES WERE NOTEWORTHY MORE FOR THEIR GREATER NUMBER AND RELATIVELY GREATER INTENSITY IN COMPARISON WITH THOSE IN ALGIERS SPEECH THAN FOR ANY OBJECTIVE MODIFICATION IN THEIR CONTENT. CHARACTERISTIC OF THIS PRONOUNCED IMBALANCE WAS HIS ATTRIBUTING TO "THE EFFORTS OF THE NONALIGNED, SOCIALIST AND OTHER PEACE-LOVING COUNTRIES... THE GREAT SUCCESSES ACHIEVED IN THE EMANCIPATION OF PEOPLES AND OF MAN", WHILE LATER BERATING "IMPERIALIST AND OTHER FORCES ASPIRING TO SUBJUGATE OTHERS, ENDEAVORING TO HALT THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION." REFERENCE TO ALL "PROGRESSIVE AND DEMOCRATIC FORCES" WAS STANDARD. (NOTE: FOR REASONS MENTIONED IN OUR CONCLUDING COMMENT WE ATTACH PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE TO FACT THAT TITO SPECIFICALLY LINKED "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES WITH NONALIGNED AT COLOMBO, SOMETHING WHICH HE HAD NOT DONE EVEN ONCE IN HIS ALGIERS ADDRESS.)

4. IN ADDITION TO CLEAR CRITICISM OF ONE MAJOR POWER (USUALLY THE U.S.) AS OPPOSED TO THE OTHER, TITO (AT COLOMBO) REPEATEDLY CASTIGATED THE "BLOCS" JOINTLY, E.G., "WE ARE WITNESSING GROWING RESISTANCE TO DIVISIONS INTO BLOCS,... WHICH ARE A REAL PERIL TO WORLD PEACE"; "...THERE IS A GROWING AWARENESS EVERYWHERE THAT THE TOMORROW OF MANKIND LIES IN A WORLD WITHOUT BLOCS"; "...PEOPLES OF THE WORLD DO NOT WANT NEW WARS AND

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SHOWDOWNS BETWEEN THE BLOCS".

5. GUARDED CRITICISM OF SOVIETS. HAVING AVOIDED ALMOST ANY CRITICISM OF SOVIETS AT ALGIERS SUMMIT, TITO CLEARLY DEALT THEM A MIXED HAND AT COLOMBO. AS HE HAD AT ALGIERS, HE AGAIN INCLUDED "HEGEMONY" IN RITUAL RECITATION OF "FORMS OF FOREIGN DOMINATION". AND, FOCUSING IMPLICITLY ON SOVIET/EE MEDIA EFFORTS TO PORTRAY THE NONALIGNED AS

THE BLOOD BROTHERS OF "SOCIALIST" BLOC AND ON LATTER'S
ATTACKS ON CERTAIN INSUFFICIENTLY ANTI-IMPERIALIST
ELEMENTS WITHIN THE MOVEMENT, HE DECLARED
"WE DO NOT IDENTIFY NONALIGNMENT WITH IDEOLOGICAL
OPTIONS, NOR SHOULD ONE ALLOW THAT A COUNTRY BE
QUALIFIED AS BEING NONALIGNED TO A LESSER OR
GREATER DEGREE DEPENDING ON ONE OR ANOTHER
POLITICAL SYSTEM IT HAS ADOPTED."
AT ANOTHER POINT HE NOTED,
"IT IS BECOMING CLEAR TO ALL THAT IN THE PRESENT
DAY WORLD THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY FOR THE
SUPREMACY OF ANY ONE OF THE EXISTING BLOC GROUPINGS."
IN THINLY VIELED REFERENCE TO SEMI-SUCCESSFUL NONALIGNED
BID OF ROMANIA, AS WELL AS THAT OF PORTUGAL AND THE
PHILIPPINES, TITO COMMENTED THAT
"SOME COUNTRIES BELONGING TO MILITARY-POLITICAL
ALLIANCES HAVE DRAWN CLOSER TO THE POLICY OF NON-
ALIGNMENT AND THIS SHOULD BE GIVEN FULL SUPPORT."
INTERESTINGLY, TITO ARGUED, IN LANGUAGE PERHAPS ADDRESSED
TO CPSU IN ADDITION TO NONALIGNED AUDIENCE, THAT NON-
ALIGNMENT
"HAS NEVER TENDED TOWARDS SOME ARTIFICIAL OR
IMPOSED MONOLITHIC UNITY, WHICH IS INCOMPATIBLE
WITH THE DEMOCRATIC CHARACTER OF OUR MOVEMENT",
AND LATER CALLED FOR A "FURTHER GROUPING OF THE
PRINCIPLES OF NONALIGNMENT TO ALL PARTS OF THE

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WORLD AND THE (FURTHER) DEMOCRATIZATION OF
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS."

6. IN COMPARATIVE TERMS, MOST SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF
TITO'S 1973 ALGIERS SPEECH WAS ITS PAUCITY OF EVEN
IMPLICIT CRITICISM OF SOVIETS AND, AS EMBASSY BELGRADE
NOTED AT THE TIME, ITS RELATIVE AVOIDANCE OF BLATANTLY
ANTI-WESTERN RHETORIC (AS DISTINCT FROM MORE SPECIFIC
ISSUE-ORIENTED CRITICISM OF U.S., IN WHICH SPEECH WAS
NOT LACKING). HOWEVER, ALGIERS SPEECH WAS NOT DEVOID
OF THE USUAL REFERENCES TO, ON THE ONE HAND, "NON-ALIGNED
COUNTRIES AND ALL OTHER PROGRESSIVE FORCES", "PEACE-
LOVING AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES", AND "ALL DEMOCRATIC AND
PROGRESSIVE FORCES IN THE WORLD", AS OPPOSED TO
"REACTIONARY FORCES", AND "IMPERIALIST PRACTICE".

7. TITO ON U.S. INTEREST ISSUES. ON THOSE ISSUES OF
PARTICULAR CONCERN TO U.S. ADDRESSED BY TITO BOTH AT
ALGIERS AND COLOMBO, U.S. POSITON FARED NO BETTER AND
IN SEVERAL INSTANCES FARED NOTABLY WORSE (COMPARATIVELY)
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IN HIS COLOMBO SPEECH.

A. LATIN AMERICA. TITO LIMITED HIMSELF AT ALGIERS
TO NOTING THAT

"TH EFFORTS OF THE LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES TO
ACHIEVE FULL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL EMANCIPATION
HAVE RESULTED IN VARIOUS KINDS OF PRESSURE (BEING)
ASSERTED FROM ABROAD. THE EVENTS IN CHILE HAVE OF
LATE OFFERED AN OBVIOUS EXAMPLE OF SIMILAR PRESSURES.
AN ATTEMPT IS BEING MADE BY FORCE TO IMPOSE A
DIFFERENT SOLUTION UPON A PEOPLE WHO HAD DEMOCRATIC-
ALLY CHOSEN THE CHARACTER OF THEIR GOVERNMENT."
AT COLOMBO HE ADDRESSED THE SUBJECT OF LATIN AMERICA IN A
SOMEWHAT SHARPER TONE, DECLARING THAT
"WE ARE WITNESS TO INTENSIFIED PRESSURES BY IMPERIALIST
AND MONOPOLIST CIRCLES ON LATIN AMERICAN AND THE
CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES. ATTEMPTS ARE BEING MADE, BY FAIR
MEAN OR FOUL, TO PREVENT THESE COUNTRIES FROM BECOMING
MASTERS OF THEIR OWN NATIONAL NATURAL RESOURCES.
EXTERNAL FORCES ARE STRIVING TO RETAIN THEIR CONTROL
AND PRESERVE THEIR PRIVILEGES. ATTACKS ARE LAUNCHED
AGAINST INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES WHICH WISH TO FOLLOW
THEIR OWN COURSE, WHILE THEIR INTERNAL STABILITY IS

BEING UNDERMINED IN VARIOUS WAYS."

B. KOREA. AT ALGIERS TITO AFFIRMED NON-ALIGNED'S SUPPORT FOR "THE RESISTANCE OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE TO AN ATTEMPT TO PERPETUATE THE DIVISION OF KOREA INTO TWO STATES.." AND FOR "THE EFFORTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL UNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY."

IN HIS ADDRESS AT COLOMBO TITO REITERATED NON-ALIGNED'S SUPPORT FOR "THE RIGHT OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE TO INDEPENDENT AND PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION, AS WELL AS THE EFFORTS EXERTED BY THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA WITH REGARD TO THIS QUESTION." IMPORTANTLY, HOWEVER, HE EVEN MORE CLEARLY "ALIGNED" HIMSELF ON THIS ISSUE BY INCLUDING A CALL FOR NON-ALIGNED SUPPORT FOR "DEMANDS FOR THE UNDELAYED WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN TROOPS FROM SOUTH KOREA".

C. ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST. TITO'S STATEMENTS AT COLOMBO ON ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST WERE AT LEAST NO MORE IMMODERATE THAN THOSE IN HIS ALGIERS SPEECH. IN CONFIDENTIAL

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BOTH HE EMPHASIZED AS INDISPENSIBLE FOR A JUST PEACE (1) ISRAEL'S WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL OCCUPIED TERRITORIES (AT COLOMBO HE ADDED "OCCUPIED IN 1967") AND (2) A REALIZATION OF THE "NATIONAL" RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. HIS 1973 CALL FOR NON-ALIGNED TO RENDER "EVERY POSSIBLE SUPPORT" TO "THE ARAB COUNTRIES" WAS ABSENT FROM HIS COLOMBO SPEECH, WHILE THERE AGAIN APPEARED A PLEA, THOUGH STRONGER THAN THAT AT ALGIERS, FOR SUPPORT FOR THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE. HE STATED, "ANY ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE THIS CRISIS AT THE EXPENSE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE MUST BE PREVENTED. ANY ATTEMPT AT PUSHING ASIDE OR BREAKING UP THE PALESTINIAN LIBERATION ORGANIZATION AS ITS LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE WILL ONLY FURTHER AGGRAVATE THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS." TITO'S CLAIM AT ALGIERS THAT MIDDLE EAST "CRISIS (WAS) CAUSED BY THE IMPERIALIST OBJECTIVES OF ISRAEL AND OF THOSE STANDING BEHIND IT" WAS MODERATED SOMEWHAT IN HIS STATEMENTS AT COLOMBO THAT "ISRAEL, SUPPORTED BY SOME BIG POWERS, IS THE MAIN CAUSE OF THE (MIDDLE EAST) SITUATION", AND THAT "GRAVE RESPONSIBILITY IS BORNE ALSO BY THOSE WHO BY RENDERING ISRAEL MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THAT COUNTRY TO BEHAVE IN THIS WAY."

HE CALLED (AT COLOMBO) FOR "UN SANCTIONS" AGAINST ISRAEL "IN KEEPING WITH UN CHARTER... IF ISRAEL PERSISTS IN ITS EXPANSIONIST POLICY." AT ALGIERS, ON THE OTHER HAND, HE RESTRICTED HIMSELF TO URGING MORE FREQUENT NON-ALIGNED CONSULTATIONS "ON TAKING CERTAIN

MOVES TO BRING ABOUT A BROAD INTERNATIONAL FRONT OF
RESISTANCE TO (ISRAELI) AGGRESSION."

OF PARTICULAR INTEREST IN HIS ALGIERS SPEECH WAS
TITO'S SUGGESTION THAT SPECIAL SESSIONS OF UNGA BE
CONVENED "AT HIGHEST LEVEL POSSIBLE" TO DEAL WITH
CERTAIN PROBLEMS (WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO MIDDLE
EAST SITUATION), THE "JOINT DECISIONS" OF WHICH SESSIONS

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WOULD BE "BINDING". AT COLOMBO HE DID NOT REITERATE
THIS IMPLICIT CALL FOR A BYPASSING OF THE SECURITY
COUNCIL. HE INSTEAD INCORPORATED PHRASEOLOGY
ACCURATELY REPORTED PARA 7, REFTEL A.

D. SOUTHEAST ASIA. TITO'S ROUND DENUNCIATION AT
ALGIERS OF U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTH EAST ASIA
WAS PARALLELED AT COLOMBO WITH UNRESTRAINED PRAISE FOR
"THE HISTORIC REVOLUTIONARY VICTORIES OF THE NATIONAL
LIBERATION STRUGGLE..., ONE OF THE MOST GLORIOUS
CHAPTERS OF WHICH HAS RECENTLY BEEN CLOSED IN VIETNAM,
CAMBODIA AND LAOS".

8. INDIAN OCEAN. ON ISSUE NOT TOUCHED UPON IN ALGIERS

SPEECH, TITO NOTED WITH CONCERN AT COLOMBO SITUATION IN THE INDIAN OCEAN "IN VIEW OF THE ATTEMPTS BY THE BIG POWERS TO REINFORCE THEIR POSITIONS AND EXPAND THEIR INFLUENCE." HE CALLED FOR NON-ALIGNED SUPPORT FOR INDIAN OCEAN PEACE ZONE PROPOSAL AND REMOVAL OF "FOREIGN BASES, NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND NAVAL FLEETS OF THE BIG POWERS".

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9. ECONOMIC ISSUES. COMMENTS ON ECONOMIC ISSUES IN TITO'S COLOMBO SPEECH WHICH HAD MOST DIRECT BEARING ON ITS EAST/WEST BALANCE WERE FOLLOWING:

"THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAVE INSPIRED HOPES THAT SUCH CHANGES (I.E., IMPROVEMENT OF CONDITIONS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES) ARE WITHIN REACH AND HAVE PROVIDED THE GROUNDWORK FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH ENSUED.... HOWEVER, THE RESULTS ACCOMPLISHED SO FAR ARE NOT SATISFACTORY AND FALL FAR SHORT OF WHAT SHOULD ALREADY HAVE BEEN DONE, AND DONE WITHOUT FAIL. ...UNLESS THE ECONOMICALLY MOST POWERFUL AND MOST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES DISPLAY GREATER POLITICAL WILLINGNESS, ALL THESE (ECONOMIC) PROBLEMS WILL ONLY BE FURTHER AGGRAVATED."

AT ANOTHER POINT HE DECLARED THAT THE "POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES TODAY ARE LARGELY THE RESULT OF COLONIAL HERITAGE OR ARE BEING IMPOSED UPON THEM FROM OUTSIDE".

TITO'S COMMENTS AT ALGIERS ON SHORTCOMING OF "MOST DEVELOPED" COUNTRIES IN THEIR ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH DEVELOPING WORLD WERE SIMILAR IN TONE TO THOSE VOICED AT COLOMBO. MISSING, HOWEVER, FROM HIS COLOMBO ADDRESS WAS AN IMPLICIT CALL HE ISSUED AT ALGIERS FOR THE ECONOMICALLY MORE WELL OFF NONALIGNED NATIONS (READ OIL PRODUCERS) TO RENDER GREATER ASSISTANCE TO THOSE LESS FORTUNATE AMONG THE MOVEMENT.

10. COMMENT: FOREGOING IS BUT ANOTHER INDICATION THAT QUITE APART FROM WHETHER YUGOSLAVIA MAY ACCURATELY BE CHARACTERIZED AS "MODERATE" IN RELATION TO NONALIGNED'S MOST RABID RADICALS (SEE BELGRADE 5538), THE EVOLUTION OF ITS POSITION ON CERTAIN ISSUES OF VITAL CONCERN TO U.S. HAS NOT BEEN IN A MORE MODERATE DIRECTION. LATTER MUST ALSO BE VIEWED IN CONTEXT OF FORTHCOMING U.S. POSITIONS (ESPECIALLY RELATIVE TO THOSE OF SOVIETS) ON MANY (MOST NOTABLY ECONOMIC) ISSUES OF CURRENT "THIRD WORLD" CONCERN. BELIEVE WE SHOULD BEAR THESE CONSIDERATIONS IN MIND

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IN ONGOING ANALYSIS OF "MODERATING" ROLE YUGOSLAVS FROM TIME TO TIME CLAIM THEY PLAY AT NONALIGNED GATHERINGS. IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT WHILE TITO CAUTIONED NONALIGNED AT COLOMBO TO ESCHEW IDEOLOGICAL ALIGNMENT, HE HIMSELF CONSISTENTLY EMPLOYED STANDARD COMMUNIST SHIBBOLETHS IN ATTACKS ON U.S. AND THE WEST. WE CONSIDER TITO'S EXPRESSLY LINKING NONALIGNED WITH THE "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES NEITHER INSIGNIFICANT NOR UNEXPECTED. THE TEXTUAL LINKAGE IS STRIKINGLY SIMILAR, IN FACT, TO THAT EMBODIED IN THE BERLIN (ECPC) DECLARATION. AS WE POINTED OUT (BELGRADE 4483), LATTER REPRESENTS A FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPUTUAL CONCESSION TO THE SOVIETS. IN THIS REGARD WE ARE REMINDED OF COMMENT BY ROMANIAN COUNSELOR HERE (BELGRADE 4527) THAT BREZHNEV PRESSURED TITO ON NONALIGNED ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SOVIETS AT THEIR MEETING IN BERLIN AND THAT WE MIGHT LOOK FOR SOME GESTURE OF APPRECIATION AT COLOMBO FOR "POSITIVE" LINE SOVIETS HAVE TAKEN TOWARDS THE MOVEMENT. AT LEAST ONE SOVIET PERIODICAL, "ZA RUBEZHOM" (IN REPORT CARRIED BY "TANJUG" AUG 27), HAS ALREADY FOCUSED, INTER ALIA, ON TITO'S "SOCIALIST"/NON-ALIGNED LINKAGE IN RECENT ARTICLE CARRYING EXCERPTS FROM HIS COLOMBO SPEECH. IN LAST SEVERAL WEEKS YUGOSLAV PRESS HAS CARRIED VARIOUS PIECES WHICH TREATED IN AN IMPLICITLY CRITICAL MANNER SOVIET AND BLOC MEDIA EFFORTS TO IDENTIFY AS A MAJOR ELEMENT IN NAC DELIBERATIONS EXPRESSIONS OF FRIENDSHIP AND COMMONALITY OF INTEREST WITH "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES. THE ABOVE SAID, HOWEVER, WE OUGHT NOT OVERLOOK THE IMPORTANCE OF YUGOSLAV'S APPARENT GROWING CONCERN WITH THE SOVIETS' UNABASHED EFFORTS EVEN MORE CONSPICUOUSLY TO ALIGN THE NONALIGNED. NEEDLESS TO SAY, SUCH CONCERN IS JUSTIFIED AND LONG OVERDUE.

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